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INCORRECT TELEGRAM

## Department of State

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ActionEUR  
Info  
FROM: LONDONSS  
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TO: Secretary of State  
NO: 1465, OCTOBER 10, 2 PM (SECTION ONE OF TWO)

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ACTION DEPARTMENT 1465, INFORMATION BONN 98, MOSCOW 64, PARIS 263,  
BERLIN 48.

PARIS FOR EMBASSY, USRO, STOESSEL AND MCQUIRE.

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CURRENT POPULAR MIND IN BERLIN AS REFLECTED IN PRESS AND CONVERSATIONS PRESENTLY. THE OF RELIEF US IS ENGAGED IN EXPLORATIONS WITH SOVIETS, VIEW IS FIDELLY HELD WAR CAN BE AVOIDED BECAUSE OF FACTION RECOGNITION EAST GERMANY IS PRICE WHICH USSR WOULD ACCEPT FOR BERLIN SETTLEMENT. THIS WEST CAN AND SHOULD PAY. THIS VIEW ALREADY EXPRESSED IN RESOLUTIONS AT LIBERAL AND LABOR PARTY CONFERENCES AND LIKELY ALSO TO APPEAR AT THIS WEEK'S CONSERVATIVE PARTY CONFERENCE.2  
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INFORMED OPINION GENERALLY DISAPPOINTED BY CONDUCT GERMANS SINCE SEPT 17 ELECTIONS. PROLONGED POLITICAL HAGGLING AT TIME OF NATIONAL CRISIS CONSIDERED SIGN OF POLITICAL IMMURITY. GERMAN STATESMEN THOUGHT TO BE IRRESPONSIBLE BECAUSE THEY ARE NOT FACING UP TO FACTS OF LIFE AND PREPARING GERMAN PEOPLE FOR SACRIFICES AND DISAPPOINTMENTS WHICH THEY MUST ACCEPT.

MACMILLAN REPORTEDLY SHARES THIS DISAPPOINTMENT AND FEARS THAT IN ABSENCE MORE CLEARLY DEFINED SENSE RESPONSIBILITY AMONG GERMAN LEADERS, UK AND US, PARTICULARLY LATTER, MAY BEAR BRUNT OF RESULTS OF ALLIED POLICY. IF THEY CONTINUE TO CREATE IMPRESSION CHANGES IN ALLIED POLICY BERLIN-GERMANY FORCED ON THEM BY US-UK GENUINE RISK EXISTS GERMAN PUBLIC IN TEN YEARS OR SO WOULD READILY RESPOND.

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-2- 1465, OCTOBER 10, 2 PM (SECTION ONE OF TWO) FROM LONDON  
TO DEMAGOGIC APPEALS AS TO POST-WORLD I PERIOD.

MANY CONSIDERED SERIES OF PESS STORIES AND SPECULATIONS ABOUT SHIFT IN US POLICY IN DIRECTION OF TAKING ACCOUNT OF EXISTENCE GDR AS USEFUL IN MAKING GERMANS TAKE THEIR HEADS OUT OF THE SAND. SOME COMMENTATORS HAVE SUGGESTED LEAKS WERE DELIBERATELY USED FOR THIS PURPOSE. SOME INTERPRETED GENERAL CLAY'S REMARKS IN THIS LIGHT. IN GENERAL THEY APPROVED OF POLICY WHICH THEY ATTRIBUTED TO US GOVT.

CONCERN LEST WEST PAY A PRICE FOR BERLIN SETTLEMENT WHICH WILL ALIENATE WEST GERMANY AND DESTROY NATO AND COMMON MARKET NOT WIDESPREAD. BUT SUCH WORRY EXISTS IN WELL-INFORMED CIRCLES AND WORKING LEVEL FOREIGN OFFICE. RECENT HAFNER ARTICLE IN ENCOUNTER WARNING FAILURE WEST TO HONOR ITS TREATY COMMITMENTS ARTICLE 7 BONN CONVENTIONS AND DECLAFATIONS ACCOMPANYING 1954 REVISION BRUSSELS TREATY WOULD MAKE FEDREP BEHAVE LIKE CZECHOSLOVAKIA AFTER MUNICH ATTRACTED CONSIDERABLE ATTENTION. TIMES AND ECONOMIST BOTH REFERRED TO IT AND POINTED TO THIS FACTOR AS IMPORTANT LIMITATION IN WEST NEGOTIATING LATITUDE. THIS VIEW CLEARLY PLAYS IMPORTANT PART IN FONOFF THINKING.

OPENING OF UK-EEC NEGOTIATIONS INTENSIFIED FONOFF ATTENTION TO FEDREP FEELINGS. PREVIOUSLY UK HAD LOOKED ON FEDREP AS MOST USEFUL ALLY IN MODERATING UNREASONABLE DEMANDS FRANCE LIKELY TO MAKE DURING NEGOTIATION. FULLY REALIZE HOW DAMAGING TO CONDUCT OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS IT WOULD BE IF GERMANS FELT UK HAD SOLD THEM DOWN RIVER ON BERLIN.

ACCORDINGLY ONE SENSES RELIEF HERE THAT US IS TAKING LEAD IN TRYING TO EXPLORE POSSIBLE WAYS IN WHICH WE MIGHT LIVE WITH EAST GERMANS WITHOUT LOSING OUR SHIRTS. BRITISH HAVE DELIBERATELY LAID LOW, AS IN WESTERN FOREIGN MINISTERS CONF IN PARIS AND WASHINGTON, AND HAVE REJOICED AT REPORTS US SUGGESTING IDEAS IN WHICH UK OFFICIALS BELIEVED AND WHICH THEY HAD BEEN LONG TRYING TO PUT ACROSS. IN THIS CASE IT HAS BEEN US AND NOT UK WHICH HAS CARRIED BRUNT OF GERMAN SUSPICION. BRITISH WOULD ARGUE THAT IF SUCH A POLICY IS TO BE PURSUED IT MUST BE US WHICH SETS PACE AND THEY

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HAVE NOT SHOWN ANY INCLINATION TO OBJECT TO BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN US AND USSR ON BERLIN. HOWEVER, UK ALSO KEEPING OPEN ITS BILATERAL CHANNELS TO USSR, E.G., HOME-GROMYKO TALKS.

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47-48

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Action

Control: 5922  
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Info

FROM: LONDON

SS

TO: Secretary of State

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NO: 1465, OCTOBER 10, 2 PM (SECTION TWO OF TWO)

SP

ACTION DEPARTMENT 1465, INFORMATION BONN 92, MOSCOW 64, PARIS 263,  
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PRESENT US CONDUCT HAS PROBABLY REASSURED BRITISH OPINION. IT IS LIKELY TO BE MORE ALARMED THAN IN SUMMER MONTHS IF EXPLORATIONS IN WASHINGTON, MOSCOW AND POSSIBLE FOUR POWER NEGOTIATIONS FAIL. RECENT PUBLIC OPINION SURVEY SHOWED BRITISH SUPPORT FOR FIGHTING OVER BERLIN DROPPED FROM 46 PERCENT IN EARLY JUNE TO 24 PERCENT IN MID-SEPTEMBER. THIS POSSIBLY DUE TO INCREASING EMPHASIS GIVEN IN BRITISH OFFICIAL STATEMENTS TO BRITISH RESPONSIBILITY FOR 2 1/4 MILLION BERLINERS AND DECREASING EMPHASIS ON PICTURE OF BERLIN AS LATTER-DAY MUNICH. ANNOUNCEMENT OF SOVIET TESTING WITH KHRUSHCHEV BOAST OF 100 MEGATON BOMB PROBABLY A MAJOR INFLUENCE IN CHANGING OPINION POLL FINDINGS, AS BRITISH ESPECIALLY SUSCEPTIBLE TO THREATS OF NUCLEAR DEVASTATION. MOST CONVINCED UK WOULD BE COMPLETELY DESTROYED. FOR EXAMPLE, BRITISH HAVE NO PLANS TO BUILD SHELTERS. OFFICIAL IN CHARGE PROGRAM HOME OFFICE SAID NO PRESSURE EXISTS FOR SUCH PROGRAM (THOUGH THIS MAY CHANGE) AND GOVT HAS NO INTENTION TO SPEND ANY MONEY ON IT. DEFENSE MINISTER WATKINS' LAST WEEK SAID PUBLICLY SHELTERS WERE USELESS. ALSO, BRITISH RELUCTANCE NATURALLY INCREASES AS CRISIS LOOMS NEARER.

SUDDEN INTENSIFICATION OF CRISIS WOULD ALARM BRITISH PUBLIC OPINION

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OPINION. ALTHOUGH LORD HOME SEEMS FIRMLY ATTACHED TO PRESENT STRATEGY AND TACTICS US GOVT AS INDICATED BY BRITISH SUGGESTIONS IN WORKING GROUP REPORTED DEPTEL 1851 TO LONDON, PRESSURE WOULD CERTAINLY MOUNT FOR GREATER CONCESSIONS. THE MORE CLEARLY CRISIS PRECIPITATES ITSELF AROUND ISSUE OF LARGE SCALE INTERFERENCE WITH WEST BERLIN ACCESS THE EASIER IT WOULD BE FOR GOVT TO PUT THROUGH COUNTERMEASURES PROGRAM AND PROGRAM SPELLED OUT IN DEPTIS BERLIN MEMORANDUM.

ALTHOUGH THEY ARE WILLING TO TAKE MEASURES NOT INVOLVING SIGNIFICANT INCREASE OF BUDGET, THEY ARE NOT CONVINCED IT IS NECESSARY TO UPSET PRESENT FAVORABLE TREND IN BRITISH ECONOMY AND HOPE WEST CAN FIND A SOLUTION WITHOUT PAINFUL SACRIFICE. ALTHOUGH NEED TO REINTRODUCE CONSCRIPTION IS BEING DISCUSSED, WE HAVE SEEN NO INDICATION CABINET HAS INITIATED ANY STEPS TO PREPARE FOR SUCH A MOVE. (1)(2)(3)(4)(5)

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PRESENT SITUATION HERE RE BERLIN CAN THUS BE SUMMED UP AS FOLLOWS: UK PREPARED TO LET US TAKE LEAD IN BERLIN CRISIS AND IS WELL SATISFIED MOMENTARILY WITH US CONDUCT. ALTHOUGH BOTH GOVT AND LABOR LEADERS HOPE TO AVOID MAJOR SACRIFICES, THEY FULLY AWARE OF IMPLICATIONS BERLIN FOR UK SECURITY INTERESTS AND TREATY OBLIGATIONS, FOR EXAMPLE, GAITSKELL AND HEALEY DURING BLACKPOOL CONF SAID THAT IF NEGOTIATIONS JOINED, WEST PRESENTS REASONABLE PROPOSALS BUT USSR PROVES RECALCITRANT AND UNREASONABLE (PARTICULARLY IF USSR USES MILITARY FORCE) THEN UK MUST STAND BY ITS COMMITMENTS INCLUDING USE OF MILITARY FORCE AS REQUIRED.

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